[Chaco Period] Terena
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[P. 13-B]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé.-- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602 /41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
622 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
59/ the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

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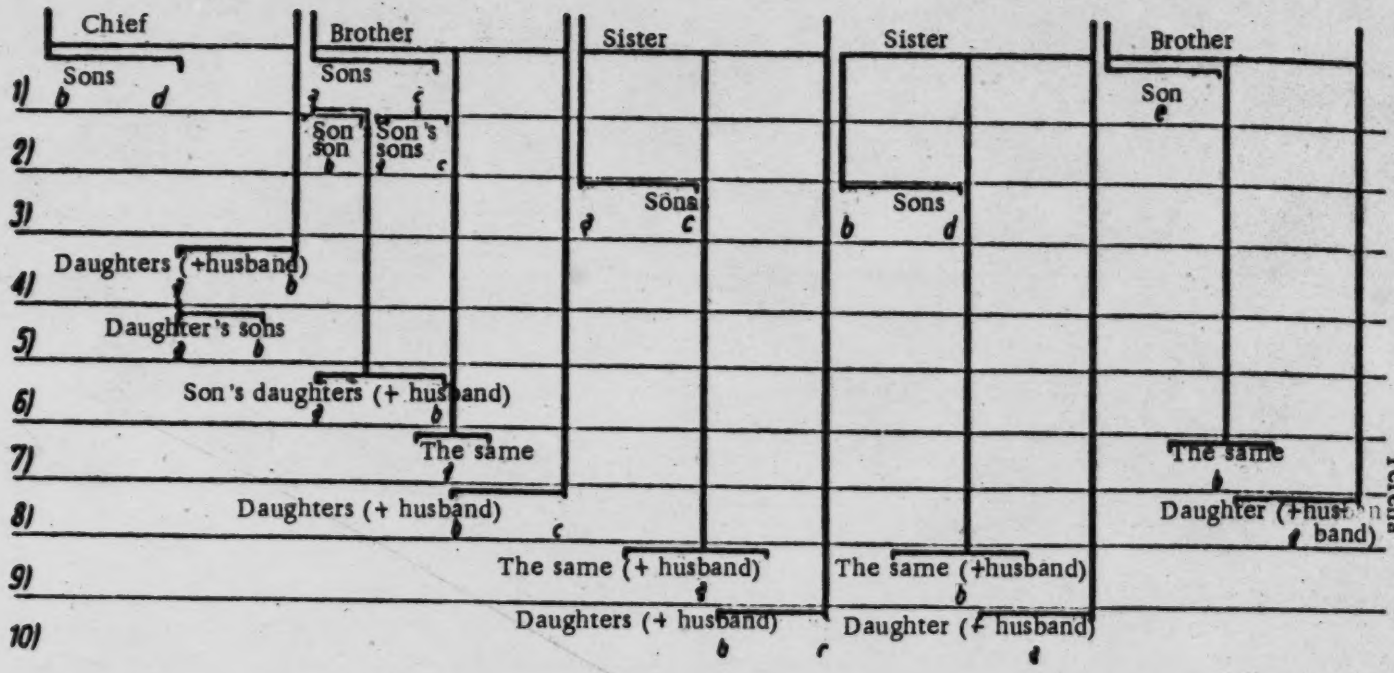
602



4: Baldus--7 E-5 (1934) 1944 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

/42 con..

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
596 the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not 881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken- [352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned [302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several [534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every [602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and [785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and 595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the [586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way 595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at 527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis- 768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they [304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons. 766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
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